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THE TRUE INTEREST OF BRITAIN, SET FORTH IN REGARD TO THE COLONIES:

And the only MEANS of Living in PEACE and HARMONY with THEM,

Including Five different Plans, for effecting this desirable Event.

By JOS. TUCKER, D. D. DEAN of GLOCESTER; Author of the Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively attend France and Great-Britain, with regard to Trade.

To which is Added by the PRINTER, A few more WORDS, on the FREEDOM of the PRESS in AMERICA.

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THE
True INTEREST OF GREAT-BRITAIN
SET FORTH
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Including,
FIVE different PLANS
For Effecting this Salutary Meaſure.

A VERY ſtrange notion is now induſtriouſly ſpreading, that 'till the late unhappy Stamp-Act, there were no bickerings and diſcontents, no heart-burnings and jealouſies ſubſiſting between the Colonies and the Mother-Country. It ſeems, 'till that fatal period, all was harmony, peace and love. Now it is ſcarcely poſſible even for the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, if his knowledge extends beyond the limits of a Newſpaper, not to know, "that this is entirely falſe." And if he is at all converſant in the hiſtory of the Colonies, and has attended to the accounts of their original Plantation, their riſe and progreſs, he

muſt know, that almoſt from the very beginning, there were mutual diſcontents, mutual animoſities and reproaches. Indeed, while theſe Colonies were in a mere ſtate of infancy, dependent on their Mother-Country not only for daily protection, but almoſt for daily bread, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they would give themſelves the ſame airs of ſelf-ſufficiency and independence, as they did afterwards, in proportion as they grew up to a ſtate of maturity. But that they began very early to ſhew no other marks of attachment to their ancient parent, than what aroſe from views of ſelf-intereſt and ſelf-love, many convincing proofs might be drawn from the complaints of, and the inſtructions to the Governors of the reſpective Provinces; from the memorials of our Boards of Trade, preſented from time to time to his Majeſty's Privy Council againſt the behaviour of the Coloniſts; from the frequent petitions and remonſtrances of our Merchants and Manufacturers to the ſame effect; and even from the votes and reſolutions of ſeveral of their Provincial Aſſemblies againſt the intereſt, laws, and Government of the Mother-Country; yet I will wave all theſe at preſent, and content myſelf with proofs ſtill more authentic and unexceptionable; I mean the public Statutes of the Realm: For from them it evidently appears, that long before there were any thoughts of the Stamp-Act, the Mother-Country had the following accuſations to bring againſt the Colonies, viz. 1ſt, that they refuſed to ſubmit to her

her ordinances and regulations in regard to Trade.—2dly, that they attempted to frame Laws, and to erect Juriſdiction not only independently of her, but even in direct oppoſition to her authority.—And 3dly, that many of them took unlawful methods to ſkreen themſelves from paying the juſt debts they owed to the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great-Britain.

Theſe are the objections of the Mother-Country to the behaviour of the colonies long before their laſt outrages, and their preſent conduct:—For even as early as the year 1670, it doth appear, that MANY COMPLAINTS (the very words of the Act) had been made againſt the AMERICAN Proprietors of Ships and Veſſels, for engaging in Schemes of Traffic, contrary to the regulations contained in the act of Navigagation, and in other ſtatutes of the Realm made for confining the trade of the Colonies to the Mother-Country. Nay, ſo ſenſible was the Parliament above an hundred Years ago, that Proſecutions for the breach of thoſe laws would be to little or no effect, if carried on in AMERICAN Courts, or before AMERICAN Juries, that it is expreſſly ordained, "It ſhall, it may be lawful for any perſon or perſons to proſecute "ſuch Ship or Veſſel [offending as deſcribed in "the preceding Section] in any Court of Admiralty in England; the one moiety of the "forfeiture, in caſe of condemnation, to be "to his Majeſty, his Heirs, and ſucceſſors; and "the other Moiety to ſuch Proſecutor or "Proſecutors thereof." See 22 and 23 of Ch. II.

II. Cap. 26. § 12 and 13.] And we find, that two years afterwards, viz. 25 of Ch. II. Cap. 7, the ſame complaints were again renewed; and in conſequence thereof higher duties and additional penalties were laid on, for the more effectually enforcing of the obſervance of this and of the former laws: But in ſpite of all that was done, things grew worſe and worſe every day. For it is obſervable, that in the year 1696, the very authority of the Engliſh Legiſlature, for making ſuch laws and regulations, ſeemed to have been called in queſtion; which authority, therefore, the Parliament was obliged to aſſert in terms very peremptory;---- and I may likewiſe add, very prophetical. The Law made on this occaſion was the famous Statute of the 7th and 8th of William III. Cap. 7. wherein, after the recital of divers acts "made for the encouragement of the Naviga-"tion of this Kingdom, and for the better ſe-"curing and regulating the Plantation Trade, "it is remarked, that notwithſtanding ſuch laws, "great abuſes are daily committed, to the pre-"judice of the Engliſh Navigation, and the "Loſs of great part of the Plantation trade "to this Kingdom, by the artifice and cunning "of ill-diſpoſed Perſons." Then, having preſcribed ſuch remedies as theſe great evils ſeemed to require, the Act goes on at §. 7. to ordain, "That all the penalties and Forfeitures "before mentioned, not in this act particu-"larly diſpoſed of, ſhall be one third part to "the uſe of his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Suc-

"ceſſors,

" ceſſors, and one third part to the Governor " of the Colony or Plantation where the offence " ſhall be committed, and the other third part " to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall ſue for the " ſame, to be recovered in any of his majeſty's " courts at Weſtminſter, or in the kingdom of " Ireland, or in the courts of Admiralty held in " his majeſty's Plantations reſpectively, where " ſuch offence ſhall be committed, " at the plea- " ſure of the Officer or Informer, or in any other " Plantation belonging to any ſubject of England " wherein no Eſſoin, protection, or wager of " Law ſhall be allowed; and that where any " queſtion ſhall ariſe concerning the importa- " tion or exportation of any goods into or out " of the ſaid plantations, in ſuch caſe the proof " ſhall lie upon the owner or claimer; and the " claimer ſhall be reputed to be the importer or " owner thereof."

Now here it is obvious to every reader, that the ſuſpicions which the Parliament had formerly conceived of the partiality of American Courts, and American Juries in trials at Law with the Mother-Country, were ſo far from being abated by length of time, that they were grown higher than ever; becauſe it appears by this very act, that the power of the Officer or Informer was greatly enlarged, having the option now granted him of three different Countries for proſecuting the offence; whereas in the former of Charles II. made 16 years before, he had only two. Moreover it was this time further ordained, that the Onus probandi

probandi ſhould reſt on the defendant, and alſo that no * Eſſoin, Protection, or † Wager of law ſhould be allowed him.

But above all, and in order to prevent, if poſſible every ſort of chicane for the future, and to fruſtrate all attempts of the Colonies, either to throw off or evade the power and juriſdiction of the Mother-Country,—It was at § 9. "further enacted and declared by the au-"thority aforeſaid, that all Laws, Bye-Laws, "Uſages, or Cuſtoms, at this time, or which "hereafter ſhall be in practice, or endeavoured, "or pretended to be in force or practice, in any "of the ſaid Plantations, which are in any wiſe "repugnant to the before mentioned Laws, or "any of them, ſo far as they do relate to the "ſaid Plantations, or any of them, or which are "any ways repugnant to this preſent Act, or "to any other law hereafter to be made in "this KINGDOM, ſo far as ſuch Law ſhall re-"late to, and mention the ſaid Plantations, are "ILLEGAL, Null, and Void to all INTENTS "and PURPOSES Whatſoever."

Words could be hardly deviſed to expreſs the ſentiments of the Engliſh Legiſlature, more fully and ſtrongly, than theſe have done: And if ever a body of uninſpired Men were endowed with

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* An Eſſoin ſignifies, in Law, a pretence or excuſe.

† A Wager at Law, is a power granted to the Defendant to ſwear, together with other COMPURGATORS, that he owes nothing to the Plaintiff in the manner ſet forth.——It is eaſy to ſee what uſe would have been made of ſuch a power had it been allowed.

with a ſpirit of Diviſnation, or of foreſeeing, and alſo of providing againſt untoward future events, as far as human prudence could extend, the King, Lords, and Commons of the Æra 1696, were the very Men. For they evidently foreſaw, that a time was approaching, when the Provincial aſſemblies would diſpute the Right of AMERICAN Sovereignty with the great and general Council of the BRITISH Empire: And therefore they took effectual care that, whenever the time came, no law, no precedent, nor preſcription, ſhould be wanting, whereby the Mother-Country might aſſert her conſtitutional and inherent right over the Colonies.

But notwithſtanding theſe wiſe Precautions, ſome of the Colonies found ways and means to evade the Force and meaning even of this expreſs law; at leaſt for a time, and 'till the Legiſlature could be ſufficiently apprized of the injury deſigned. The Coloniſts, who practiſed theſe diſingenuous arts with moſt ſucceſs, were thoſe who were endowed with chartered Governments, and who in conſequence of the extraordinary favours thereby indulged them, could nominate or elect their own Council, and (if my memory doth not fail me) their own Governors likewiſe;—at leaſt, who could grant ſuch ſalaries to their Governors, and with ſuch limitations, as would render them too dependent on the will and pleaſure of their Pay-Maſters. Hence therefore it came to paſs, that in the Colonies of Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, the Maſſachuſet's Bay, and

and New Hampſhire; the Governors of theſe Provinces ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded to give their ſanction to certain Votes and Reſolulutions of their Aſſemblies and Councils; whereby laws were enacted firſt to iſſue out bills of Credit to a certain amount, and then to make a tender of thoſe bills to be conſidered as an adequate diſcharge of debts, and a legal releaſe from payment. A moſt compendious method this for getting out of debt! And were the like artifice to be authorized every where, I think it is very evident, that none but the moſt ſtupid Ideot would be incapable of diſcharging his debts, bonds, or obligations; and that too without advancing any money.

However, as ſoon as the Britiſh Legiſlature came to be fully appriſed of this ſcheme of iniquity, they paſſed a Law, "to regulate and "reſtrain paper Bills of Credit in his Majeſty's "Colonies or Plantations, of Rhode Iſland and "Providence Plantations, Connecticut, the Maſ-"ſachuſets Bay, and New Hampſhire in Ame-"rica; and to prevent the ſame being le-"gal tenders in payments of money."——— This is the very title of the Statute; but for further particulars, and for the different regulations therein contained, conſult the act itſelf, 24th of George II. Cap. 53, Anno 1751.

Now will any Man after this dare to ſay, that the Stamp-Act was the firſt cauſe of diſſention betwen the Mother-Country and her Colonies? Will any Man ſtill perſiſt in maintaining ſo groſs a Paradox, that 'till that fatal period, the Colonies

lonies ſhewed no reluctance to ſubmit to the commercial regulations, no diſpoſition to conteſt the authority, and no deſire to queſtion the right of the Mother-Country? The man who can maintain theſe paradoxes, is incapable of conviction, and therefore is not to be reaſoned with any longer. "But the Stamp-Act "made bad to become worſe:——The Stamp-"Act irritated and inflamed, and greatly en-"creaſed all thoſe ill humours, which were but "too predominant before." Granted; and I will further add, that any other act, or any other meaſure, of the Britiſh Government, as well as the Stamp-Act, if it were to compel the Coloniſts to contribute a ſingle ſhilling towards the general expence of the Britiſh Empire, would have had the ſame effect. For, be it ever remembered, that the Coloniſts did not ſo much object to the mode of this taxation, as to the right itſelf of levying taxes. Nay, their friends and agents here in England were known to have frequently declared, that if any tax were to be crammed down their throats without their conſent, and by an authority which they diſallowed, they had rather pay this Stamp-Duty than another.

But indeed, and properly ſpeaking, it was not the Stamp-Act which increaſed or heightened theſe ill humours in the Coloniſts; rather, it was the reduction of Canada, which called forth thoſe diſpoſitions into action which had long been generating before; and which were ready

to burſt forth at the firſt opportunity that ſhould offer. For an undoubted fact it is, that from the moment in which Canada came into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, an end was put to the Sovereignty of the Mother-Country over her Colonies. They had then nothing to fear from a foreign enemy; and as to their own domeſtic friends and relations, they had for ſo many years preceding been accuſtomed to treſpaſs upon their forbearance and indulgence, even when they moſt wanted their protection, that it was no wonder they ſhould openly renounce an authority which they never thorougly approved of, and which now they found to be no longer neceſſary for their own defence.

But here ſome may be apt to aſk, "Had the "Colonies no provocation on their part? And "was all the fault on one ſide, and none on "the other?" Probably not:—probably there were faults on both ſides. But what doth this ſerve to prove? If to exculpate the Colonies in regard to their preſent refractory behaviour, it is needleſs. For I am far from charging our Colonies in particular with being ſinners above others; becauſe I believe (and If I am wrong, let the hiſtory of all Colonies, whether ancient or modern, from the days of Thucydides down to the preſent time, confute me if it can; I ſay, till that is done I believe) that it is the nature of them all to aſpire after Independence, and to ſet up for themſelves as ſoon as ever they find that they are able to ſubſiſt, without being beholden to the Mother-Country. And if our

Americans

Americans have expreſſed themſelves ſooner on this head than others have done, or in a more direct and daring manner, this ought not to be imputed to any greater malignity, or ingratitude in them, than in others, but to that bold free conſtitution, which is the prerogative and boaſt of us all. We ourſelves derive our origin from thoſe very SAXONS; who inhabited the lower parts of Germany; and yet I think it is ſufficiently evident, that we are not over complaiſant to the deſcendants of theſe lower SAXONS, i. e. to the offspring of our own Progenitors; nor can we, with any colour of reaſon, pretend to complain that even the Boſtonians have treated us more indignantly than we have treated the Hanoverians. What then would have been the caſe, if the little inſignificant Electorate of Hanover had preſumed to retain a claim of Sovereignty over ſuch a Country as Great-Britain, the pride and Miſtreſs of the Ocean? And yet, I believe, that in point of extent of Territory, the preſent Electoral Dominions, inſignificant as they are ſometimes repreſented, are more than a moiety of England, excluſive of Scotland and Wales: whereas the whole Iſland of Great Britain, is ſcarcely a twentieth part of thoſe vaſt Regions which go under the denomination of North-America.

Beſides, if the American Colonies belonging to France or Spain, have not yet ſet up for Independence, or thrown off the maſque ſo much as the Engliſh Colonies have done,--what is this

ſuperior

ſuperior reſerve to be imputed to? Not to any greater filial tenderneſs in them for their reſpective antient Parents than in others;---not to motives of any national gratitude, or of national honour;---but becauſe the conſtitution of each of thoſe Parent States is much more arbitrary and deſpotic than the conſtitution of Great-Britain; and therefore their reſpective offsprings are * awed by the dread of puniſhments from breaking forth into thoſe outrages which ours dare do with impunity. Nay more, the very Colonies of France and Spain, though they have not yet thrown off their allegiance, are nevertheleſs as forward as any in diſobeying the Laws of their Mother-Countries, wherever they find an intereſt in ſo doing. For the truth of this fact, I appeal to that prodigious clandeſtine Trade which they are continually carrying on with us, and with our Colonies, contrary to the expreſs prohibitions of France and Spain: And I appeal alſo to thoſe very free ports which the Britiſh Legiſlature itſelf hath lately opened for accommodating theſe ſmuggling coloniſts to trade with the ſubjects of Great-Britain, in Diſobedience to the injunction of their Mother-Countries.

Enough ſurely has been ſaid on this ſubject; and the upſhot of the whole matter is plainly this,---

* But notwithſtanding this awe, it is now pretty generally known, that the French Coloniſts of Hiſpaniola endeavoured lately to ſhake off the Government of Old France, and applied to the Britiſh Court for that purpoſe.

this,---That even the arbitrary and deſpotic Governments of France and Spain (arbitrary I ſay, both in temporals and in ſpirituals) maintain their authority over their American Colonies but very imperfectly; in as much as they cannot reſtrain them from breaking through thoſe rules and regulations of excluſive trade; for the ſake of which all Colonies ſeemed to have been originally founded. What then ſhall we ſay in regard to ſuch Colonies as are the offſpring of a free conſtitution? And after what manner, or according to what rule, are our own in particular to be governed, without uſing any force or compulſion, or purſuing any meaſure repugnant to their own ideas of civil or religious Liberty? In ſhort, and to ſum up all, in one word, how ſhall we be able to render theſe Colonies more ſubſervient to the intereſts, and more obedient to the laws and government of the Mother-Country, than they voluntarily chuſe to be? After having pondered and revolved the affair over and over, I confeſs, there ſeems to me to be but the five following propoſals, which can poſſibly be made, viz.

1ſt, To ſuffer things to go on for a while, as they have lately done, in hopes that ſome favourable opportunity may offer for recovering the juriſdiction of the BRITISH Legiſlature over her Colonies, and for maintaining the authority of the Mother-Country.---Or if theſe temporiſing meaſures ſhould be found to ſtrengthen and confirm the evil, inſtead of removing it;---then,

2dly,

2dly, To attempt to perſwade the Colonies to ſend over a certain number of Deputies, or Repreſentatives, to ſit and vote in the BRITISH parliament; in order to incorporate AMERICA and GREAT BRITAIN into one common Empire,---Or if this Propoſal ſhould be found impracticable, whether on account of the Difficulties attending it on this ſide of the Atlantic, or becauſe that the Americans themſelves would not concur in ſuch a meaſure; then,

3dly, To declare open War againſt them as Rebels and Revolters; and after having made a perfect Conqueſt of the Country, then to govern it by Military Force and deſpotic ſway.---Or if this ſcheme ſhould be judged (as it ought to be) the moſt deſtructive, and the leaſt eligible of any;---then,

4thly, To propoſe to conſent that AMERICA ſhould become the General Seat of Empire; and that Great Britain and Ireland ſhould be governed by Vice-Roys ſent over from the Court Reſidencies, either at Philadelphia or New-York, or at ſome other American imperial City,----Or if this plan of Accommodation ſhould be ill-digeſted by home-born Engliſhmen, who, I will venture to affirm, would never ſubmit to ſuch an Indignity;---then,

5thly, To propoſe to ſeparate entirely from the Colonies, by declaring them to be a free and Independent People, over whom we lay no Claim; and then by offering to guarantee this Freedom and Independence againſt all foreign Invaders whomſoever.

Now

Now theſe being all the plans which, in the nature of things, ſeem capable of being propoſed, let us examine each of them in their order.

FIRST PLAN.

And 1ſt, as to that which recommends the ſuffering all things to go on as they have lately done, in hopes that ſome favourable opportunity may ariſe hereafter for recovering the juriſdiction, and vindicating the honour of the Mother-Country.

This firſt propoſal is very unhappy at firſt ſetting out; becauſe it takes that for granted, which hiſtory and experience prove to be falſe. It ſuppoſes, that Colonies may become the more obedient, in proportion as they are ſuffered to grow the more headſtrong, and to feel their own ſtrength and independence; than which ſuppoſition there cannot be a more palpable abſurdity. For if a father is not able to govern his ſon at the ages of 14 or 16 years, how can it be ſuppoſed that he will be better able when the youth is become a man of full age and ſtature, in the vigour of health and ſtrength, and the parent perhaps more feeble and decrepid than he was before? Beſides, it is a fact, that the Colonies, from almoſt one end of North-America to the other, have already revolted from under the juriſdiction of the Britiſh Legiſlature;—each Houſe of Aſſembly hath already arrogated to themſelves a new name, by ſtiling themſelves an HOUSE OF COMMONS; in conſequence of which ſtile and title, they have already

already declared, that the Britiſh Houſe of Commons neither hath, nor ought to have, any right to intermeddle in their concerns. Now, after they have advanced thus far already, what Rhetoric would you uſe for calling theſe revolters back? And is it at all probable, that the Provincial Aſſemblies would be induced by the force of oratory to renounce their own importance, and to acknowledge that to be a crime, which both they, and the people whom they repreſent, glory as in their birth-right and unalienable prerogative? The man who can ſuppoſe theſe things, muſt have a moſt extraordinary opinion of his own eloquence.

But here perhaps ſome may be inclined to aſk, Why would you meddle with the Colonies at all? And why not ſuffer things to remain in ſtatu quo? The obvious anſwer to which queſtions is this,—That it is not the Mother Country which meddles with the Colonies, but the Colonies which meddle with the Mother-Country: For they will not permit her to govern in the manner ſhe ought to do, and according to the original terms of the conſtitution; but are making encroachments on her authority every day. Moreover as they increaſe in riches, ſtrength, and numbers, their civil and military eſtabliſhments muſt neceſſarily increaſe likewiſe; and ſeeing that this circumſtance is unavoidable, who is to defray the growing expences of theſe increaſing and thriving Colonies? "The Colonies themſelves "you will naturally ſay, becauſe none are ſo fit,

"and

" and none ſo able:" And perhaps ſome American advocates will likewiſe add, " That the " Colonies do not refuſe to defray theſe ex- " pences, provided they ſhall be the ſole judges " of the quantum to be raiſed, or the mode of " raiſing it, and of the manner of its ap- " plication." But here lies the difficulty, which remains yet to be ſolved: For if the Colonies are to be allowed to be the ſole judges in theſe matters, the ſovereignty of the Britiſh Legiſlature is entirely at an end; and theſe Colonies become in fact, as much independent of their Mother-Country, as we are independent of Hanover, or Hanover of us;—only indeed with this difference (which an American always chuſes to forget) That whereas we lay a duty on all raw materials coming from the Electoral Dominions, we give a bounty on thoſe which are imported from the Colonies. Beſides, many will be apt to aſk, could not this matter be compromiſed in ſome degree? And will nothing leſs content the Colonies than a total revolt from under the juriſdiction of the Mother-Country?——Some well-meaning perſons have propoſed, that each Colony, like each County here in England, ſhould be allowed to raiſe taxes for its own internal uſes, whilſt the Britiſh parliament, the ſovereign council of the Britiſh Empire, ſhould preſide over the whole; and therefore ſhould enact ſuch laws for the levying of thoſe general taxes, which are to be applied for the common protection, the good, and benefit

of all. But the misfortune is, that the Colonies will not conſent to this partition of power and juriſdiction; conſequently any ſcheme of this nature is utterly impracticable. Indeed the late Stamp-Act itſelf was no other than a part of this very ſcheme: For the money to be raiſed by that tax, was to be applied to the ſole uſe of the Colonies, and to be expended no where elſe but in the Colonies. Nay it was not the moiety, nor yet the third, nor the fourth part of the ſum which Great-Britain was to have raiſed on the ſame account, and to have expended in the ſame Provinces:—So anxious was the antient indulgent parent not to lay too heavy a burden on her favourite children. But alas! Favourites of all kinds ſeldom make thoſe returns of gratitude and obedience, which might be expected. For even as to that boaſted loyalty, which the colonies have hitherto profeſſed to maintain towards his Majeſty King George,—this ſtands, and muſt ſtand, according to their preſent political ſyſtem, on as precarious a footing as any of the reſt of our claims. For if the Britiſh parliaments have no right to make laws to bind the Colonies, they certainly ought not to be allowed to preſcribe to them "who ſhall be their King;—much leſs ought they to pretend to a right of enacting, That it ſhall be a moſt capital offence, even "high treaſon" itſelf, in a coloniſt to dare to controvert the title of any prince, or any family, to the American throne, whom the Britiſh Parliament ſhall place thereon.

BESIDES,

BESIDES, ſome of thoſe lower Houſes of Aſſemblies (which each Province now affects to call its Houſe of Commons) have already proceeded to greater lengths of ſovereignty and independence than a Britiſh Houſe of Commons ever preſumed to do except in the days of the grand rebellion. For they have already arrogated to themſelves a power of diſpoſing, as well as of raiſing the public monies, without the conſent of the other branches of the legiſlature; which is, in fact, nothing leſs than the erection of ſo many ſovereign and independent Democracies. Nay more, there is a general combination and confederacy entered into among them all: For each Houſe of Aſſembly hath lately appointed a ſtanding committee for correſponding with the ſtanding committees of other Provinces, in order the more effectually to oppoſe the authority and juriſdiction of the Mother-Country.

WHAT then is to be done in ſuch a caſe? Evident it is beyond a diſpute, that timid and temporiſing meaſures ſerve to no other purpoſe but that of confirming the colonies in their oppoſition, and ſtrengthening them in their preſent revolt.

PLAN Second.

WHEREFORE the 2d propoſal is, To attempt to perſuade the Colonies to ſend over a certain number of Repreſentatives to ſit and vote in the BRITISH Parliaments, in order to incorporate AMERICA and GREAT-BRITAIN into one common Empire.

* This

* THIS is the ſcheme of a very worthy gentleman, eminently verſed in the laws and conſtitution of Great-Britain, and what is ſtill better, a real, not a pretended Patriot. Let us therefore examine it with as much reſpect and deference to his opinion, as the cauſe of truth will permit; which I am well perſuaded, is full as much as he would require.

HE begins with obſerving very juſtly, page 4. "That the ſubjects of the Crown of Great-"Britain, muſt (i. e. ought to) continue to be "ſo in every reſpect, in all parts of the "world, where they live under the protection "of the Britiſh Government; and that their "croſſing the Atlantic Ocean with the King's "licence, and reſiding in America for the pur-"poſes of trade, cannot affect their legal ſub-"jection to the governing powers of the com-"munity to which they belong.

"BUT yet he obſerves, that the total want "of Repreſentatives in the great Council of the "nation, to ſupport their intereſts, and give "an aſſent on their behalf to laws and taxes by "which they are bound and affected, is a misfor-"tune, which every friend to liberty and equal "government muſt be ſorry to ſee them labour "under, and from which he muſt wiſh them to "be relieved in a regular and conſtitutional "manner,

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* See a Pamphlet,——"Conſiderations on the Expediency "of admitting Repreſentatives from the AMERICAN Colonies "into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons."——LONDON, printed "for B. WHITE, 1770.

" manner, if ſuch relief can poſſibly be af-
" forded them, without breaking the unity of
" the Britiſh Government."

He therefore proceeds, at page 10, to propoſe his ſcheme for remedying this misfortune; viz " That about eighty perſons might be ad-
" mitted to ſit in Parliament, as members of
" the Commons Houſe of Parliament for all the
" Kings's Dominions in America, the Weſt-
" Indies, as well as North America; and that
" their Stile and Title ſhould be " The Com-
" miſſioners of the Colonies of AMERICA." After this he goes on to fix the numbers requiſite to repreſent each Colony, their qualification, and the mode of their election; alſo the time of their continuing in office, and the manner of their being re-elected, or ſuperſeded by others, if that ſhould be judged neceſſary: In all which, tho' the propoſals are not quite conſiſtent with the unity of the Britiſh Government, yet as he has obviated the principal difficulties, it would be both ill-natured and unjuſt to ſpy out every ſmall fault, or to magnify objections.

But when he comes to give us the form, the Extent and the limitation of theſe Commiſſions; nay, when he propoſes to circumſcribe the authority and juriſdiction of the Britiſh Parliament itſelf, even after it hath been ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of theſe Colony-Repreſentatives; there, I humbly apprehend, the importance of the ſubject ſhould preponderate over mere deference and complaiſance.

Nay,

Nay I will go ſtill further, and add, that if the meaſures propoſed ſhould be ſhewn to have a tendency to beget endleſs jealouſies, quarrels, and diviſions, between the Mother-Country and the Colonies, inſtead of proving a means of reconciliation, and a center of union, the Gentleman himſelf, I am fully perſuaded, would be among the firſt in rejecting his own plan. Let us therefore now deſcend into particulars.

And 1ſt, it is propoſed, page 11, that they (the commiſſioners) ſhould receive a commiſſion in writing from their Electors, viz. (the * Aſſemblies in each Province) "impowering "them to ſit and vote in the Britiſh Houſe of "Commons, and conſult with the King, and "the Great Men of the Kingdom, and the "Commons of the ſame in Parliament aſſem-"bled, upon the great affairs of the Nation, and "to CONSENT on the behalf of the Province, "for which they were choſen, to ſuch things as "ſhall be ordained in Parliament, &c.

Now this Form might paſs very well among ourſelves at Home, where the majority are not continually on the watch to ſpy out every flaw, real or imaginary: But in regard to the Coloniſts,

* QUERE, Whether it is intended that the Lower Houſes in each Aſſembly ſhould have the ſole Right of voting for theſe Commiſſioners? Or both Houſes jointly? If the former, then the Colony Governments would become ſtill more democratical than they now are, tho' already ſo, to ſuch an exceſſive degree, as to be almoſt incompatible with an idea of Monarchy, but if each Houſe is to vote ſeparately, what jars and factions, and reciprocal reproaches, would this occaſion! And how would they be able to agree? In ſhort, either way, the proſpect is alarming!

niſts, and eſpecially an Aſſembly of Coloniſts, the caſe is widely different; For it is well known that their wits are perpetually at work to avail themſelves even of the ſhadow of an Argument to oppoſe the Right and Authority of the Mother-country. Therefore they will immediately ſeize on the words impowering and conſent, and reaſon after the following fallacious manner:---"The Aſſemblies who elected the "Commiſſioners, have a Right to inſtruct "them; and theſe Inſtructions, when properly "drawn up, are no other than ſo many truſts "or powers granted to them from Time to "time, by the aſſembly which elected them; "which Aſſembly hath therefore a Right to "contract or enlarge their Commiſſion, as they "ſhall find it to be the Intereſt of the Province "ſo to do. Conſequently, if theſe Commiſ-"ſioners ſhould at any Time Vote contrary to "their inſtructions, that is, to their commiſſion, "it follows, that in theſe reſpects they have "exceeded the bounds preſcribed by their Elec-"tors. Therefore, being themſelves prohibi-"ted from voting, and having no authority to "vote in ſuch a Queſtion, every Law wherein "they gave their ſuffrage, affecting the Intereſts "of the Colonies in general, or any province "in particular, is IPSO FACTO Null and Void."

AGAIN.---"The Colony Commiſſioners are "to give their conſent in behalf of the Province "for which they are choſen, to ſuch things as "ſhall be ordained in Parliament. This is the "Foundation and Corner-Stone of all the Build-

"ing

" ing: and therefore, if ſuch commiſſioners " did not give their conſent in behalf of the " Provinces for which they were choſen, then " it follows, of courſe that no law, affecting " the intereſts of ſuch reſpective Provinces, is " obligatory, no tax due or payable, nor any " regulations made by the pretended authority " of the Britiſh Parliament without the con- " ſent of ſuch commiſſioners, are to be at all " regarded by the American Electors."---Theſe are a few of thoſe bleſſed concluſions, which the Politicians on the other ſide of the Atlantic will certainly draw from the terms and expreſſions contained in ſuch a form. And what is ſtill worſe, both our own hair-brained Republicans, and our Mock Patriots at Home will as certainly adopt the ſame language, and echo back the ſame ſpecious, tho' falſe allegations, from one end of the Kingdom to the other. Indeed many there are, even among ourſelves, who with the moſt honeſt and upright intentions, are at a loſs at preſent how to diſintangle themſelves from theſe fallacious reaſonings. For having unhappily learnt in Newſpaper Diſſertations, and from coffee-houſe harangues, that the Deputies ſent to the great Council of the Nation, are the mere Attornies of thoſe who elected them; ---the inference is but natural, that theſe Attornies ought to do as they are bid; and that in caſe of competition, they ought not to prefer their own private opinions to the judgments of their conſtituents.--- I ſay, this inference is natural; nay it is neceſſary, juſt,

and

and true, were the premiſes but true from whence it is deduced.

Wherefore, having often had the advantage of hearing no leſs a perſon than the late excellent Judge Foſter, that true friend to all reaſonable liberty, civil and religious,— I ſay, having often heard him diſcourſing on the riſe and origin of parliaments, I will venture to lay his ſtate of the caſe before my reader, hoping that it may remove all his difficulties (if he has any) and work the ſame fullneſs of conviction in his mind, which it did in mine.

" To reaſon accurately, ſaid this upright and " able lawyer, on the origin of Parliaments, we " muſt trace the matter up to its conſtituent " principles. Now the firſt idea which ſtrikes " one on this occaſion is, that of a large Aſ- " ſembly of different tribes of warriors, either " preparing for ſome military expedition, or " got together, after a victory, to ſhare the " booty and divide the lands among the con- " querors. When all are met together in one " place, they chuſe a Committee for managing " their affairs; having found it impracticable " to tranſact any buſineſs of conſequence in " any other way. Now this Committee, cho- " ſen by the whole Nation, actually aſſembled, " gives us the firſt rude draught of a National " Parliament, or a National Council. But in " proceſs of time, and when the Nation had " made large conqueſts, and was cantoned into " diſtant provinces, it was found to be extremely

" inconvenient to aſſemble the whole Nation to-
" together into one place. Therefore the next,
" and indeed the only expedient, was, that each
" canton or each diſtrict, which could aſſemble
" ſhould be authoriſed to elect a deputy, or
" deputies, " not for itſelf alone, that is the
" grand miſtake" but for the Nation at large
" which could not aſſemble; and the powers
" to be granted to ſueh deputy or deputies, were
" juſt the ſame as the nation would have grant-
" ed to them, had it been actually aſſembled.
" Hence therefore it comes to paſs, that each
" deputy repreſents the whole Nation in gene-
" ral, as much as if he had been elected by the
" whole Nation; and conſequently ſuch a de-
" puty is the Attorney, (if he muſt be called by
" by that name) not of any one particular
" Tribe, Society or Diſtrict, but of the whole
" collectively: So that it becomes the duty of
" his office to take care of the intereſts of all
" the people in general, becauſe he repreſents
" them all. In ſhort, he cannot conſiſtently
" with the duty which he owes to the whole
" pay any deference to the requeſt, inſtruction,
" remonſtrance, or memorial, of his particular
" electors, except in ſuch caſes only wherein he
" is convinced in his conſcience, that the mea-
" ſures, which they require him to purſue, are
" not incompatible with the public good."

Thus far this great Judge of the Britiſh con-ſtitution. And tho' many important inferences might be drawn from hence, which would ef-fectually remove thoſe difficulties, with which

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the Subject has of late been artfully and ſtudiouſly perplexed (and particularly in the caſe of the expulſion * of a Member of the Houſe of Commons) yet I ſhall content myſelf with one general remark at preſent; viz. That as each claſs of Men, each Society or Diſtrict, throughout the Britiſh Empire, are as much repreſented by thoſe deputies, whom they did not perſonally elect, as they are by thoſe whom they did; it therefore follows, that there is no need, that the deputies, particularly elected by them, ſhould give their perſonal conſent to any acts of the Legiſlature; becauſe a vote of the majority is in fact a vote of the Nation to all intents and purpoſes.

But it is now high time to atttend to another part of this Gentleman's plan for admitting Commiſſioners from the Colonies to ſit and vote in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons.

And that is, 2dly the extent of their commiſſion, and indeed the boundary line preſcribed to the Britiſh Parliament itſelf, whenever it ſhall interfere in American affairs. For it ſeems (ſee p. 14.) "That this legiſlative power of Parliament ſhould be exerciſed but ſeldom, and on "occaſions of great neceſſity. Whatever re-

"lated

* Surely the Nation might have expelled Mr. Wilkes, or have ſtruck his name out of the liſt of Committee, had it been aſſembled, and had it thought proper ſo to do. What then ſhould hinder the Deputies of the Nation from doing the ſame thing? And which ought to prevail in this caſe, the Nation in general, or the County of MIDDLESEX?

" lated to the internal government of any par-
" ticular Colony (ſuch as raiſing the neceſſary
" taxes for the ſupport of its civil government,
" paſſing laws for building bridges, or Churches,
" or Barracks, or other public Edifices) ſhould
" be left to the Governor and Aſſembly of that
" Colony to tranſact among themſelves, unleſs
" in caſes where the domeſtic diſſentions of the
" Colony put a ſtop to public buſineſs, and
" created a kind of neceſſity for the interpoſi-
" tion of the ſupreme Legiſlature. But when
" any general Tax was to be impoſed upon all
" the American Colonies for the ſupport of a
" war, or any other ſuch general purpoſe; or
" any new law was to be made to regulate the
" Trade of all the Colonies; or to appoint the
" methods by which debts owing from the In-
" habitants of one Colony to thoſe of another,
" or of Great-Britain, ſhould be recovered; or
" to direct the manner of bringing Criminals
" to juſtice who have fled from one Colony to
" another; or to ſettle the manner of quarter-
" ing the King's Troops in the ſeveral Co-
" lonies; or of levying Troops in them, and
" the number each Colony ſhould contribute;
" or to ſettle the proportionable values of dif-
" ferent coins that ſhould be made current in the
" ſeveral Provinces; or to eſtabliſh a general
" Paper-Currency throughout America; or for
" any other general purpoſe that relates to ſe-
" veral Colonies:—In theſe caſes the authority
" of Parliament ſhould be employed."

Here now is a kind of barrier ſet up be-

tween

tween theſe two contending powers, the Britiſh Parliament, and the Provincial Aſſemblies;—a barrier, which muſt be held ſo ſacred by both parties, as to limit their reſpective pretenſions, and to extinguiſh all further claims. Let us therefore ſee how well this ſcheme is calculated to anſwer to ſuch good purpoſes.

And firſt it is ſaid, that the Parliament ought to interfere but ſeldom; and then only on occaſions of great neceſſity. Now here permit me to aſk, who are to be the Judges of what is ſeldom, or what is frequent? Moreover, who is to determine between the Parliament and the Provincial Aſſemblies, when there is a great neceſſity for the interference of the former, and when there is but a litle one, or none at all?—Obvious it is, to all the World, that theſe jealous rivals will never ſettle ſuch points among themſelves; and if they will not ſettle them, indeed if they cannot, who is to be their commmon Umpire or Referee? Beſides, granting even that this difficulty could be got over in ſome degree, another formidable one immediately ſtarts up like another Hydra; viz. What are theſe Colony-Agents to do in our Houſe of Commons, when no Colony-buſineſs happens to be tranſacted? Are they to remain as ſo many MUTES, without ſpeaking a word, or giving a ſingle vote for weeks, or months, or perhaps for a whole ſeſſion together?—Or are they to ſit and vote in all Britiſh cauſes, great or ſmall; notwithſtanding that the Britiſh Senators are precluded from voting, excepting in

extraordinary

extraordinary caſes, in reſpect to the Colonies; In either caſe here ſeems to be ſomething introduced into the Britiſh conſtitution of a very heterogeneous nature; ſomething very repugnant to that unity of government, which the Gentleman himſelf allows ought to be preferred to every other conſideration; And I will add further, that if the Colony Commiſſioners are to ſit and vote in all our cauſes, tho' our Britiſh Repreſentatives are reſtrained from voting in theirs, perhaps ninety-nine times in an hundred, this will be the ſetting up of one of the moſt partial, unequal, and unjuſt ſyſtems of pacifications, that ever yet appeared in the World.

We therefore proceed to another weighty objection againſt the preſent plan.—The terms of this new compact are declared to be, that the Colony Aſſemblies ſhall be inveſted with the right of internal and Provincial juriſdiction and Legiſlation; while the Britiſh Parliament, even after the Acceſſion of theſe 80 Colony Commiſſioners, ſhall be content to retain only that which is external and general.———But here alas! the very ſame difficulties return which preſſed ſo hard before: For who is to judge between the Britiſh parliament and the Provincial Aſſemblies in theſe reſpects? Who will venture to aſcertain in every caſe what is external and general; and what is merely internal and provincial? Nay indeed, may not the very ſame things juſtly paſs under both denominations, according as they are ſeen from different

points

points of view? Surely they may; and to convince any man of this, let him attend to the very catalogue of articles, with which this Gentleman hath himſelf preſented us. For at page 14, he obſerves, "That whatever related "to the internal governnent, of any particular "Colony, ſhould be left to the Governor and "Aſſembly of that Colony to tranſact among "themſelves;" among which articles belonging to internal government he enumerates the building of Barracks, and of other Public Edifices; and yet both he and every man muſt allow, that the building of Barracks, of Forts and Fortreſſes, the making of King's Docks and careening places for the Navy, the laying out of military roads, and the providing of magazines for proviſions and military ſtores, conſidered in another view, are of a general nature; in the erection and preſervation of which, the whole Britiſh Empire is deeply intereſted. And yet were the Britiſh Parliament to frame laws, and to levy taxes on the AMERICANS for theſe purpoſes, what outcries would immediately be raiſed againſt the Mother-Country! Every Fortreſs, nay every Barrack, would be deſcribed as an odious badge of ſlavery; and every little Magazine would be termed a monumennt of tyranny and deſpotic power, and a prerogative for deſtroying the few liberties that were left. Again, at the bottom of the ſame Page, he declares, that the authority of Parliament ſhould be employed in ſettling the manner of quartering the King's troops in the ſeveral Colonies.

nies. I will not object to the interpoſition of Parliament in ſuch a caſe: For I well know, that if the Parliament did not interfere, the troops would very often have no quarters at all; and yet this very circumſtance would afford an AMERICAN Aſſembly the moſt inviting opportunity for exclamation and oppoſition. "What! "the Britiſh Parliament to take upon them the "manner of quartering troops in our own "Province, and on our own Inhabitants! who "ſo proper Judges as ourſelves, when or where, "or after what manner, they ſhould be quar-"tered? And how came the Gentlemen, met "at WESTMINSTER, to be acquainted with the "circumſtances of our People, and the ſituation "of places, better than we who reſide on the "ſpot? No! Theſe acts of the BRITISH Par-"liament are all barefaced encroachments on "our liberties, and open violations of our "Rights and Properties: they are the chains "which our pretended protectors, but in reality "our EGYPTIAN taſk-maſters, have been long "forging for us. Let therefore all unite and "manfully reſiſt them; let us poſtpone the pay-"ing of debts, and enter into a general aſſociati-"on to refuſe their goods, to diſtreſs their trade, "and to harraſs our cruel enemies by every me-"thod in our power; and if we are thus "united, they muſt yield, as they did before." In ſhort it would be endleſs to recount all the topics which ſuch a ſcheme as this Gentleman has propoſed, would certainly furniſh to every popular Declaimer in every popular Aſſembly;

and

and the more improbable, the more abſurd and unjuſt his harangues were in point of ſound argument and juſt reaſoning; ſo much generally ſpeaking, the more greedily would they be received.

However, there is one point more which I cannot omit, becauſe it will throw a further light on this matter, and diſcloſe a new ſcene of patriotic manœuvres, and the wiles of Politicians: at page 13, this author lays down a general rule for the conduct of parliament with reſpect to America, "That it ought "to be made a ſtanding order of both Houſes "of Parliament, never to paſs any law, whe-"ther for impoſing a tax, or for regulating "trade, or for any other purpoſe whatſoever "relating to any of the American Colonies, 'till "one whole year after the firſt reading of the "bill; unleſs it be to renew ſome expiring "laws of great importance, and of immediate "and urgent neceſſity, ſuch as the act for "billeting the King's Troops, and perhaps "ſome few others that might be ſpecially ex-"cepted in the order."

This is the reſtriction in point of time, which our author propoſes to lay on the Parliament of Great-Britain. "They never muſt "paſs any law for impoſing a tax 'till one "whole year after the firſt reading of the bill:" Why?—In order to give the ſeveral Colonies "an opportunity of making proper repreſenta-"tions againſt it, and to prevent the Parliament

"from making injudicious laws, not ſuited "to the condition of the Colonies." A fine contrivance truly! and a moſt effectual expedient to prevent the Parliament from ever making any laws to oblige the Americans to diſcharge their duty towards their Mother-Country: For this Gentleman might have known, indeed it is hardly poſſible, that the fact could have eſcaped his notice, had he recollected it, that this very circumſtance of a year's procraſtination was the main engine employed to batter down the late ſtamp-act. When the duty on ſtamps was firſt propoſed, the Americans made as little objection to it, as could be ſuppoſed to be made to any new tax whatever, Nay, ſeveral of their popular Orators and Leaders uſed conſiderable intereſt to be employed as Agents in the diſtribution of theſe ſtamps: and one among the reſt, whom I need not name, was more than ordinary aſſidious in his application on this head: So that had the Act paſſed within the uſual time, inſtead of being a flaming American Patriot, he would probably have acted the part of a Tax-Gatherer and an American Publican. But when the outs and the pouters on this ſide the water, ſaw the advantage which the Miniſter gave them by a whole year's delay, they eagerly ſeized the opportunity; Emiſſaries and Agents were diſpatched into all quarters;—the Newſpapers were filled with invectives againſt the new-intended Tax. It was injudicious!—it was ill-timed!—oppreſſive!—tyrannical!—and every

thing

thing that was bad! letters upon letters were wrote to America to excite the People to aſſociate, to remonſtrate, and even to revolt. The moſt ample promiſes were made from hence, of giving them all the aſſiſtance which faction, and clamour, and mock-patriotiſm, could muſter up. And then it was that this very man, this ſelf-intended Publican, changed ſides, and commenced a zealous Patriot: Then he appeared at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons to cry down that very meaſure which he himſelf had eſpouſed; and then, as the avenging Angel of America,

"He rode in the Whirlwind to direct the Storm."

Well, the ſtorm fell on the Miniſter for the time being, and overſet him. Our Outs at Home became the Ins; and the ſtorm having now done its buſineſs, they had no further occaſion for it, were its moſt obedient humble Servants, and wiſhed it to ſubſide. But here they found themſelves egregiouſly miſtaken. For the Americans had, in their turn, learnt the art of making tools of them, inſtead of being made tools by them: ſo that having been taught by theſe Preceptors to feel their own weight and independance, they were not to be wheedled by ſoothing and cajoling letters to give over their enterprize, or to become a tractable, obedient People for the future. In ſhort, hence it came to paſs, that even during the continuance of this new and favourite adminiſtration, the American ſpirit was riſing all the while, inſtead

of

of ſinking. And as like cauſes will always produce like effects, eſpecially ſince things have been ſuffered to grow to ſuch an height, evident it is to common ſenſe, that any future attempt of the Britiſh Parliament to levy a tax on America, will meet with no better a fate than the Stamp-Act has done. Moreover a years delay in laying it on will be juſt ſo much time given the Colonies to prepare for battle; and woe to that adminiſtration which ſhall propoſe it; for they will certainly be overturned by the ſame arts and managements which the former were, and with much greater eaſe.

I ſhould now have done with this Gentleman's ſcheme, were it not that I find him, at page 28, making a kind of apology to the Americans for the conduct of our parliament in paying the King's debts of his civil liſt. And I own myſelf more hurt by this paragraph, than by all the reſt of his pamphlet: for as I am thoroughly perſuaded, he wrote from conviction, and not from any ſiniſter views, one is ſorry to find ſo able, ſo honeſt, and upright a man, carried away by the torrent of the times to ſuch a degree, as to adopt notions, which are almoſt too crude for a club of Livery Politicians met in ſome blind alley at a city alehouſe. His words are theſe:—"It is certain, "that no ſuch (exorbitant) grants as are above "mentioned have been made, unleſs in the ſingle "inſtance of the ſum of 513,000l. granted to "his preſent Majeſty for the diſcharge of the "debts of his civil liſt. And in this caſe I

"can

" can eaſily ſuppoſe, that a motive of com-
" paſſion for a number of innocent perſons
" who would otherwiſe have been ſufferers from
" that load upon his Majeſty's revenue, and
" an affectionate deſire of relieving their ex-
" cellent Sovereign (who has in no inſtance en-
" deavoured to violate the liberties of his Sub-
" jects) from the unworthy ſtreights and in-
" conveniences, ill becoming the royal dignity,
" into which ſome of his miniſters had brought
" him by the injudicious management of his re-
" venue, may have induced many members of
" the Houſe of Commons to conſent to this
" grant, without any view to their own private
" intereſt; though at the ſame time I ac-
" knowledge it to be, conſidering all its cir-
" cumſtances, a dangerous compliance, and
" not worthy to be drawn into example."

Now if the compliance of the Parliament in diſcharging this debt was dangerous, the reaſon muſt be, becauſe the circumſtance of contracting the debt itſelf was really infamous; therefore ought not to be avowed, but had better be ſuppreſſed in tenderneſs to the royal cauſe. But can this author point out any ſuch infamous circumſtances, if he were minded to make the diſcovery?—I dare anſwer for him, that he cannot. And as I will not ſuppoſe that he has more tales to tell than any other private Gentleman, or much leſs than he himſelf was an accomplice in, or privy to any ſuch ſcenes of iniquity as are here inſinuated.—I will now undertake to prove to him and the World, how

as

as great a debt as this, nay a much greater, might have been contracted in the ſpace of ten years, without the leaſt impeachment of waſte, profuſion, miſmanagement, or any other miſ-application whatſoever.

Every office, dignity, rank, or ſtation has a certain character to ſuſtain, which neceſſarily requires a correſpondent train of expences; ſo that whether you conſider the demands upon a King with a ſalary of 800,000l. a year, or the demands on a private Gentleman with only a clear rental of 800l. a year, the ſcale of expences muſt be proportionate, the demands and expences being relative one to the other.

We will therefore reaſon on what we are moſt converſant with, (and with reſpect to which we may be allowed to be competent judges) viz. on the caſe of a young Gentleman of a reſpectable ancient family, juſt come to take poſſeſion of an Eſtate, which clears him 800l. a year.

1ſt. Therefore, being appointed Sheriff of the County, he muſt and ought to go through that expenſive office in ſuch manner as would reflect no diſgrace on himſelf, or the reſpectable family from which he is deſcended (and the office of Sheriff belonging to a private Gentleman is of much the ſame import in point of expence, as the circumſtances of a coronation in reſpect to Majeſty.)

2dly. Many deaths and funerals within the above mentioned period create another article of expence, which muſt be borne; with this peculiar circumſtance attending it, that tho' he muſt

muſt bury a grandfather ſuitably to his rank, alſo an uncle, aunts, a brother and ſiſters,—yet he himſelf acquires no addition of fortune by their deceaſes.

3dly. Several marriages in the family, and his own * in particular, bring on a third charge, which ſurely in reaſon and conſcience ought not to be objected to.

4thly. Six or ſeven Chriſtenings and lyings-in, expenſive articles in all families, neceſſarily happen from the circumſtance of the caſe to be peculiarly expenſive in this: and yet neither the young Gentleman himſelf, nor any of his friends and well-wiſhers to the family, ought to have been ſuppoſed to have wiſhed to have ſaved theſe extraordinary charges.

5thly. A train of unexpected viſitants bring on another heavy load; and though they were not invited, yet, as they choſe to come, they muſt be received with an hoſpitality ſuitable to his

* Some ſhrewd Politicians have been wiſe enough to aſk, why did not his Majeſty marry a large fortune, in order to reimburſe ſome of theſe expences?—What large fortune would theſe Wiſeacres have wiſhed him to have married? A Dutchy or Principality on the Continent, in order to engage us ſtill more in Continental meaſures?—Or was it to be a large landed Eſtate at home, to be annexed to the Crown, like another Dutchy of Lancaſter?—This would have a fine influence on Electioneering, and Engliſh liberties.---But perhaps they meant, that he ſhould have gone into the City, and have paid his addreſſes to Miſs PLUMBE, the rich Grocer's daughter, or to Miſs RESCOUNTERS the heireſs of the great Broker in Change-Alley. And to be ſure, ſuch a match as this would have correſponded rarely well with the ſublime ideas of City-politics. Our antient Nobility would have been delighted in giving the precedency to ſuch illuſtrious Princes of the blood.

his and their dignity, and the relation of friendſhip and family-ties, ſubſiſting between them.

Add to this, 6thly, the uncommon dearneſs of all ſorts of proviſions, which for ſome years paſt hath exceeded any thing known in former times; and which alone hath actually ſwelled the amount of Houſe-keeping in every family to a very conſiderable ſum.

Now the young Gentleman having ſupported himſelf under theſe ſeveral preſſures and growing expences for ten years together, at laſt is obliged to requeſt his neareſt friends and deareſt relations to grant him ſome aſſiſtance; becauſe he is 513l. Or almoſt three quarters of a year in debt. Heavens! what a ſum! and is this all againſt which ſuch loud outcries have been raiſed? yes this is all! Indignant reader, whoever thou art, Engliſhman or American, lay thy hand on thy heart, and aſk thyſelf this plain queſtion, what wouldſt thou have thought of ſuch a young Man, had he been thine own Son, thy Grandſon, or the heir-apparent of thy fortune? And what ſort of treatment would he have deſerved at thy hands? Therefore, *mutato nomine*.—But I will add no more: Let Nature and humanity, juſtice and equity, plead their own cauſe.

We have now, I think, very ſufficiently diſcuſſed every part of this gentleman's plan: nay, we have amply and particularly ſhewn, that his apology to the Americans in behalf of the Britiſh Parliament, for paying the arrears of his Majeſty's Civil Liſt, was quite a needleſs thing. For if

no

no ſtronger proofs can be brought of their venality and corruption than this inſtance, they ſtill may be ſafely truſted with the guardianſhip of thoſe liberties and properties, which they have hitherto not only preſerved, but alſo ſtrengthened and encreaſed to a degree unknown before in this, or any other country. In one word the ſcheme of an union under our preſent conſideration, is of ſuch a nature, as would neceſſarily tend to exaſperate both parties, inſtead of mollifying or reconciling either, and as the Americans have already given us to underſtand, both in their Provincial Aſſemblies, and at their General Congreſſes, that they will not accept of an union with us; and as Great-Britain ought not to petition for it; ſurely more need not be added for laying the ſcheme aſide. Indeed the Gentleman himſelf, towards the cloſe of his pamphlet, expreſſes but little hopes of its ſucceſs: for, after all, the beſt uſe he can put it to, ſeems to be the juſtification of the Mother-Country in declaring war againſt the Colonies, in order to oblige them to ſubmit to her authority, and to return to their obedience. So that this ſcheme of pacification is to end in a war at laſt. Therefore we are now come to conſider the

THIRD PLAN.

The expediency of having recourſe to arms, in order to compel the Colonies to ſubmit to the authority and juriſdiction of the ſupreme

council of the Britiſh Empire, the Parliament of GREAT-BRITAIN.

In regard to which important point, the gentleman reaſons after the following manner; —"after ſuch an offer (of an union, as above "deſcribed) and the contemptuous refuſal of "it by the Colonies, we may well ſuppoſe, that "they (the inhabitants of Great-Britain) will "act as one man, to ſupport the juſt and law-"ful, and neceſſary authority of the ſupreme "Legiſlature of the Britiſh Nation over all the "Dominions of the Crown. The juſtice of their "cauſe will give vigour to their meaſures; and "the Colonies that ſhall have the folly and pre-"ſumption to reſiſt them, will be quickly re-"duced to obedience."

It is poſſible, nay indeed it is very probable, that if a war was to be ſpeedily undertaken before Great-Britain and Ireland had been too much exhauſted of their inhabitants, emigrating to North-America,—the forces of the Mother-Country might prevail, and America, however unwilling, be forced to ſubmit. But alas! victory alone is but a poor compenſation for all the blood and treaſure which muſt be ſpilt on ſuch an occaſion. Not to mention, that after a conqueſt of their country, the Americans would certainly be leſs diſpoſed, even than they are at preſent, to become our good cuſtomers, and to take our manufactures in return for thoſe injuries and oppreſſions which they had ſuffered from us:—I ſay, injuries and oppreſſions; becauſe the Colonies would moſt undoubtedly

give

give no ſofter an appellation to this Conqueſt, tho' perhaps it would be no other in itſelf, than a juſt chaſtiſement for the manifold offences they had committed. Moreover, as the Americans are endeavouring even at preſent to ſet up all ſorts of mechanic trades in order to rival us, or at leaſt to ſuperſede the uſe of our manufactures in their country,---can any man ſuppoſe, that their ardor for ſetting up manufactures would be abated, by their being forced to deal at the one only European ſhop, which they moſt deteſted?

But what is ſtill worſe, if poſſible,---though the Britiſh troops might over-run the great Continent of North-America at firſt, it doth by no means follow, that they could be able to maintain a ſuperiority in it afterwards for any length of time; and my reaſon is, becauſe the governing of a country after a peace, is a much more arduous taſk, in certain circumſtances, than the conquering it during a war. Thus for example, when a peace enſues (and ſurely it is not intended that we ſhall be forever in a ſtate of war) then a civil conſtitution of ſome kind or other muſt neceſſarily be eſtabliſhed; and in the caſe before us, there ſeems to be no other alternative, but either the permitting the Colonies to enjoy once more thoſe advantages of Engliſh Liberty, and of an Engliſh Conſtitution, which they had forfeited; or elſe a reſolution to govern them for the future by arbitrary ſway and deſpotic power.

If

If the latter ſhould be the plan adopted, I then humbly ſubmit it to be duly weighed and conſidered, what a baneful influence this Government a la pruſſe, would have on every other part of the Britiſh Empire. England free, and America in chains! And how ſoon would the enſlaved part of the Conſtitution, and perhaps the greater, contaminate the free and the leſſer? Nay, as America was found to increaſe in ſtrength and numbers, an army of Engliſh-born ſoldiers (for no others could be truſted) firſt of 50,000, and afterwards perhaps of 100,000, would ſcarcely be ſufficient to keep theſe turbulent ſpirits in awe, and to prevent them, at ſuch a prodigious diſtance from the center of Government, from breaking out into inſurrections and rebellions at every favourable opportunity. But if the former were to prevail, and a return of Engliſh Liberties was again to take place, it muſt alſo follow, that the ſyſtem of trials by juries muſt return with them; and then, when America ſhall grow ſtronger and ſtronger every day, and England proportionably weaker, how is an inſurrection to be quelled in America? and what Engliſh officer, civil or military, would dare to do it? Nay, I aſk further, granting that he was ſo brave, or rather ſo fool-hardy, as to attempt to do his duty, who is to protect him in the execution of his office? Or how is he to be preſerved, by due forms of law, againſt the determination of an American jury? a tumult is excited;——the military is called forth;

forth;—the ſoldiers are inſulted;—many perhaps wounded, and ſome even killed. The patience of the officers worn out, and in their own defence, they are obliged to give the word of command to fire. The relations of thoſe who fell by this fire, bring on an appeal of blood. The American jury find the officers who commanded, and perhaps the whole corps who fired, guilty of wilful murder; and then all the power of the Crown, legally exerted, is not able to ſave the lives of theſe poor innocent men. Pitiable ſure is ſuch a caſe; and yet it is a caſe which would and muſt frequently then happen in the natural courſe of things, according to our legal conſtitution.

Perhaps it might be ſaid, that American juries are as conſcientious as other juries in bringing in their verdicts according to law; and that it is very uncharitable even to ſuppoſe the contrary.—Be it ſo: But the queſtion here turns on, What will be the ſuggeſtion of conſcience in the breaſt of an American on ſuch an occaſion?—What would be his ideas of law, juſtice, or equity, when England and America ſtood in competition?—certainly, if ever the inhabitants of that country ſhould come (and they are almoſt come already) to be fully perſuaded that the Britiſh parliament hath no right to make laws either to tax or to govern them (and the having once beaten them will not be taken as a convincing proof that we always have either the right or the power to beat them) then every attempt towards

throwing

throwing off this odious yoke, would appear in their eye, as ſo many noble ſtruggles for the cauſe of liberty; and therefore the baſe Engliſh hireling, who would dare to injure this ſacred cauſe, deſerved to die a thouſand deaths. Such undoubtedly would be the language, and ſuch the ſentiments of the great majority of Americans whenever ſuch a caſe ſhould happen. In a word, an erroneous conſcience, and a falſe zeal, would have juſt the ſame bad effects in the new world reſpecting civil government, as they formerly had in the old, in regard to religion: And therefore, either way, whether we ſhould treat theſe Americans as an enſlaved people, or whether we ſhould reſtore to them, after a conqueſt, the ſame conſtitution which we enjoy ourſelves, the final event would come to this,—That England would be the greateſt ſufferer; and that America is not to be governed againſt its own inclinations. Wherefore let us now now come to the

FOURTH PLAN,

Viz. To conſent that America ſhould become the general ſeat of Empire, and that GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, ſhould be governed by Vice-Roys ſent over from the Court Reſidencies either at Philadelphia, or New-York, or at ſome other American Imperial, City.

Now, wild as ſuch a ſcheme may appear, there are certainly ſome Americans who ſeriouſly embrace it: and the late prodigious ſwarms of Emigrants encourage them to ſuppoſe, that a time is approaching, when the Seat of Empire

pire muſt be changed. But whatever events may be in the womb of time, or whatever revolutions may happen in the riſe and fall of Empires, there is not the leaſt probability, that this country ſhould ever become a province to North-America. For granting even, that it would be ſo weakened and enfeebled by theſe Colony-drains, as not to be able to defend itſelf from invaders, yet America is at too great a diſtance to invade it at firſt, much leſs to defend the conqueſt of it afterwards, againſt the neighbouring powers of Europe: and as to any notion that we ourſelves ſhould prefer an American yoke to any other,—this ſuppoſition is chimerical indeed; becauſe it is much more probable, were things to come to ſuch a dreadful criſis, that the Engliſh would rather ſubmit to a French yoke, than to an American; as being the leſſer indignity of the two. So that in ſhort, if we muſt reaſon in politics according to the Newtonian Principles in Philoſophy. The idea of the leſſer country gravitating towards the greater, muſt lead us to conclude, that this Iſland would rather gravitate towards the Continent of Europe, than towards the Continent of America; unleſs indeed we ſhould add one extravagance to another, by ſuppoſing that the Americans are to conquer all the world; and in that caſe I do allow, that England muſt become a Province to America. But

We come now to conſider the

FIFTH PLAN. Viz.

To propoſe to ſeparate entirely from the North-

North-American-Colonies, by declaring them to be a free and independent people, over whom we lay no claim; and then by offering to guarantee this freedom and independence againſt all foreign invaders whatever.

And, in fact, what is all this but the natural and even the neceſſary corollary to be deduced from each of the former reaſons and obſervations? For if we neither can govern the Americans, nor be governed by them; if we can neither unite with them, nor ought to ſubdue them;—what remains, but to part with them on as friendly terms as we can? and if any man ſhould think that he can reaſon better from the above premiſes, let him try.

But as the idea of ſeparation, and the giving up the Colonies forever will ſhock many weak people, who think, that there is neither happineſs nor ſecurity but in an overgrown unwieldy Empire, I will for their ſakes enter into a diſcuſſion of the ſuppoſed diſadvantages attending ſuch a disjunction; and then ſhall ſet forth the manifold advantages.

The firſt and capital ſuppoſed diſadvantage is, That if we ſeparate from the Colonies, we ſhall loſe their trade. But why ſo? and how does this appear? The Colonies, we know by experience, will trade with any people, even with their bittereſt enemies, during the hotteſt of a war, and a war undertaken at their own earneſt requeſt, and for their own ſakes;—the Colonies, I ſay, will trade even with them, provided they ſhall find it their intereſt ſo to do. Why then

ſhould

ſhould any man ſuppoſe, that the ſame ſelf-intereſt will not induce them to trade with us? with us, I ſay, who are to commit no hoſtilities againſt them, but on the contrary, are ſtill to remain, if they pleaſe, their Guardians and Protectors?

Granting, therefore, that NORTH-AMERICA was to become independent of us, and we of them, the queſtion now before us will turn on this ſingle point,—can the Coloniſts, in a general way, trade with any other European State to greater advantage than they can with Great-Britain? If they can, they certainly will; but if they cannot, we ſhall ſtill retain their cuſtom, notwithſtanding we have parted with every claim of authority and juriſdiction over them. Now, the native commodities and merchandize of North-America, which are the moſt ſaleable at an European market, are chiefly lumber, Ships, iron, train-oil, flax-ſeed, ſkins, furs, pitch, tar, turpentine, pearl-aſhes, indigo, tobacco, and rice: and I do aver, that, excepting rice and tobacco, there is hardly one of theſe articles, for which an American could get ſo good a price any where elſe, as he can in Great-Britain and Ireland. Nay, I ought to have excepted only rice; for as to tobacco, tho' great quantities of it are re-exported into France, yet it is well known, that the French might raiſe it at home, if they would, much cheaper than they can import it from our Colonies. The fact is this,—The Farm of to-

bacco is one of the great five farms, which make up the chief part of the Royal revenue; and therefore the Farmers General, for bye-ends of their own, have hitherto had intereſt enough with the Court to prohibit the cultivation of it in Old France, under the ſevereſt penalties. But nevertheleſs the real French Patriots, and particularly the Marquis de Mirabeau, have fully demonſtrated, that it is the intereſt of the French government to encourage the cultivation of it; and have pointed out a ſure and eaſy method of collecting the duties; which was the ſole pretence of the Farmers General for ſoliciting a prohibition. So that it is apprehended, that the French government will at laſt open their eyes in this reſpect, and allow the cultivation of it. Tobacco therefore being likely to be ſoon out of the queſtion, the only remaining article is rice; and this, it muſt be acknowledged, would bear a better price at the Hamburgh or Dutch markets than it generally doth in England. But as this is only one article, out of many, it ſhould be further conſidered, that even the Ships which import rice into England, generally bring ſuch other produce as would not be ſaleable to advantage in other parts of Europe: ſo that there is no great cauſe to fear, that we ſhould conſiderably loſe the trade even of this article, were the Colonies to be diſmembered from us. Not to mention that all the coaſts of the Mediterranean and the ſouth of Europe are already ſupplied with rice from the Colonies, in the ſame manner

ner as if there had been an actual ſeparation; ——no rice-ſhip bound to any place ſouth of Cape Finiſterre being at all obliged to touch at any Port of Great-Britain. So much, therefore, as to the ſtaple exports of the Colonies.

LET us now conſider their IMPORTS. And here one thing is very clear and certain, that whatever goods, merchandize, or manufactures, the merchants of Great-Britain can ſell to the reſt of Europe, they might ſell the ſame to the Colonies, if wanted: Becauſe it is evident, that the Colonies could not purchaſe ſuch goods at a cheaper rate at any other European market. Now, let any one caſt his eye over the bills of exports from London, Briſtol, Liverpool, Hull, Glaſgow, &c. &c. and then he will ſoon diſcover that excepting gold and ſilver lace, wines and brandies, ſome ſorts of ſilks and linens, and perhaps a little paper and Gun-powder; I ſay, excepting theſe few articles, Great-Britain is become a kind of a general mart for moſt other commodities: and indeed were it not ſo, how is it conceivable, that ſo little a ſpot as this iſland could have made ſuch a figure either in peace or war, as it hath lately done? How is it poſſible that after having contracted a debt of nearly one hundred and forty millions, we ſhould nevertheleſs be able to make more rapid progreſſes in all ſorts of improvements, uſeful and ornamental, public and private, agricolic and commercial, than any other nation ever did?---Fact it is, that

theſe improvements have been made of late years, and are daily making; and facts are ſtubborn things.

But, ſays the objector, you allow, that gold and ſilver lace,---that wines and brandies, ſome ſorts of ſilks,———ſome ſorts of paper, gun-powder, and perhaps other articles, can be purchaſed at certain European markets on cheaper terms than they can in England: and therefore it follows, that we ſhould certainly loſe theſe branches of commerce by a ſeparation, even ſuppoſing that we could retain the reſt. Indeed even this doth not follow; becauſe we have loſt them already, as far as it was the intereſt of the colonies, that we ſhould loſe them. And if any man can doubt of this, let him but conſider, that the lumber, and proviſion-veſſels, which are continually running down from Boſton, Rhode-Iſland, New-York, Philadelphia, Charles-Town, &c. &c. to Martinico, and the other French iſlands, bring home in return not only ſugars and molaſſes, but alſo French wines, ſilks, gold and ſilver lace, and in ſhort every other article, in which they can find a profitable account: Moreover thoſe ſhips, which ſail to Euſtatia and Curacoa, trade with the Dutch, and conſequently with all the North of Europe, on the ſame principle. And as the ſhips which ſteer ſouth of Cape Finiſterre, what do they do?—Doubtleſs, they purchaſe whatever commodities they find it their intereſt to purchaſe, and carry them home to North-America. Indeed what would hinder them from acting

acting agreeably to their own ideas of advantage in theſe reſpects? The Cuſtom-Houſe Officers, perhaps, you may ſay, will hinder them. But alas! the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers of North-America, if they were ten times more numerous, and ten times more uncorrupt than they are, could not poſſibly guard a tenth part of the coaſt. In ſhort theſe things are ſo very notorious that they cannot be diſputed; and therefore, were the whole trade of North-America to be divided into two branches, viz. the voluntary, reſulting from a free choice of the Americans themſelves, purſuing their own intereſt, and the involuntary, in conſequence of compulſory Acts of the Britiſh Parliament;—this latter would appear ſo very ſmall and inconſiderable, as hardly to deſerve a name in an eſtimate of national commerce.

The 2d objection againſt giving up the Colonies is, that ſuch a meaſure would greatly decreaſe our ſhipping and navigation, and conſequently diminiſh the breed of ſailors. But this objection has been fully obviated already: For if we ſhall not loſe our trade, at leaſt in any important degree, even with the northern Colonies (and moſt probably we ſhall encreaſe it with other countries) then it follows, that neither the quantity of ſhipping, nor the breed of ſailors, can ſuffer any conſiderable diminution: So that this ſuppoſition is merely a panic, and has no foundation. Not to mention, that in proportion as the Americans ſhall be obliged to exert themſelves to defend their

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own coaſts, in caſe of a war; in the ſame proportion ſhall Great-Britain be exonorated from that burden, and ſhall have more ſhips and men at command to protect her own channel Trade, and for other ſervices.

The 3d objection is, That if we were to give up theſe Colonies, the French would take immediate poſſeſſion of them. Now this objection is intirely built on the following very wild, very extravagant, and abſurd ſuppoſitions.

1ſt, It ſuppoſes, that the Coloniſts themſelves, who cannot brook our government, would like a French one much better. Great-Britain, it ſeems, doth not grant them liberty enough; and therefore they have recourſe to France to obtain more:—That is, in plain Engliſh, our mild and limited Government, where prerogative is aſcertained by law, where every man is at liberty to ſeek for redreſs, and where popular clamours too often carry every thing before them,—is nevertheleſs too ſevere, too oppreſſive, and too tyrannical for the ſpirits and genius of Americans to bear; and therefore they will apply to an arbitrary, deſpotic Government, where the people have no ſhare in the Legiſlature, where there is no liberty of the Preſs and where General Warrants and Lettres des Cachets are irreſiſtible, in order to enjoy greater freedoms than they have at preſent, and to be reſcued from the intolerable yoke, under which they now groan. What monſtrous abſurdities are theſe? But even this is not all: For theſe Americans are repreſented by this ſuppoſition,

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as not only preferring a French government to a Britiſh, but even to a government of their own modelling and chuſing! For after they are ſet free from any ſubmiſſion to their Mother-Country; after they are told, that for the future they muſt endeavour to pleaſe themſelves, ſeeing we cannot pleaſe them; then, inſtead of attempting to frame any popular governments for redreſſing thoſe evils, of which they now ſo bitterly complain,—they are repreſented as throwing themſelves at once into the arms of France;—the Republican ſpirit is to ſubſide; the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance is to ſucceed; and, inſtead of ſetting up for freedom and independence, they are to glory in having the honour of being numbered among the ſlaves of the Grand Monarch!

But 2dly, this matter may be further conſidered in another point of view: for if it ſhould be ſaid, that the Americans might ſtill retain their Republican ſpirit, tho' they ſubmitted to a French government, becauſe the French, through policy; would permit them ſo to do; then it remains to be conſidered, whether any arbitrary government can diſpenſe with ſuch liberties as a Republican ſpirit will require. An abſolute freedom of the Preſs! No controul on the liberty either of ſpeaking or writing on matters of ſtate! Newſpapers and Pamphlets filled with the bittereſt invectives againſt the meaſures of government! Aſſociations formed in every quarter to cry down Miniſterial Hirelings, and their dependants!

The

The votes and reſolutions of the Provincial Aſſemblies to aſſert their own authority and independence! No landing of troops from Old France to quell Inſurrections! No raiſing of new levies in America! No quartering of Troops! No building of forts, or erecting of garriſons! And, to ſum up all, no raiſing of money without the expreſs conſent and approbation of the Provincial American Parliaments firſt obtained for each of theſe purpoſes! Now I aſk any reaſonable man whether theſe things are compatible with any idea of an arbitrary, deſpotic government? Nay more, whether the French King himſelf, or his miniſters would wiſh to have ſuch notions as theſe inſtilled into the ſubjects of Old France? Yet inſtilled they muſt be while a communication is kept open between the two Countries; while correſpondences are carried on; letters, pamphlets, and newſpapers, paſs and re-paſs; and in ſhort while the Americans are permitted to come into France, and Frenchmen into America. So much therefore as to this claſs of objections. Indeed I might have inſiſted further, that Great Britain alone could at any time prevent ſuch an acquiſition to be made by France, as is here ſuppoſed, if ſhe ſhould think it neceſſary to interfere, and if ſuch an acquiſition of territory would really and truly be an addition of ſtrength in the political balance and ſcale of power. But ſurely I have ſaid enough; and therefore let us now haſten briefly to point out,

The

The manifold Advantages attendant on ſuch a Plan.

And 1ſt, A disjunction from the nothern Colonies would effectually put a ſtop to our preſent emigrations. By the laws of the land it is made a capital offence to inveigle artificers and mechanics to leave the kingdom, but this law is unhappily ſuperſeded at preſent as far as the Colonies are concerned. Therefore when they come to be diſmembered from us, it will operate as ſtrongly againſt them, and their kidnappers, as againſt others; and here it may be worth while to obſerve, that the emigrants, who lately ſailed in ſuch multitudes from the North of Scotland and more eſpecially from the North of Ireland, were far from being the moſt indigent, or the leaſt capable of ſubſiſting in their own Country. No; it was not poverty or neceſſity which compelled, but ambition which enticed them to forſake their native ſoil. For after they began to taſte the ſweets of induſtry, and dto partake of the comforts of life, then they became a valuable prey for theſe harpies. In ſhort, ſuch were the perſons to whom theſe ſeducers principally applied; becauſe they found that they had gotten ſome little ſubſtance together worth devouring. They therefore told them many plauſible ſtories---that if they would emigrate to North-America, they might have eſtates for nothing and become gentlemen forever; whereas, if they remained at home, they had nothing to expect beyond the Condition of a wretched Journeyman, or a ſmall laborious farmer. Nay,

one of theſe falſe guides was known to have put out public advertiſements, ſome few years ago in the North of Ireland, wherein he engaged to carry all, who would follow him, into ſuch a glorious Country, where there was neither tax, nor tythe, nor Landlord's rent to be paid. This was enough: it took with thouſands: and this he might ſafely engage to do. But at the ſame time, he ought to have told them (as Biſhop BERKLEY in his queries juſtly obſerves) That a man may poſſeſs twenty miles ſquare in this Country, and yet not be able to get a dinner.

2dly. Another great advantage to be derived from a ſeparation is, that we ſhall then ſave between 3 and 400,000l. a year, by being diſcharged from the payment of any civil or military eſtabliſhment belonging to the Colonies; for which generous benefaction we receive at preſent no other return than invectives and reproaches.

3dly. The ceaſing of the payment of bounties on certain Colony productions will be another great ſaving; perhaps not leſs than 200,000l. a year: and it is very remarkable, that the goods imported from the Colonies in conſequence of theſe bounties, could not have been imported into any other part of Europe, were there a liberty to do it; becauſe the freight and firſt coſt would have amounted to more than they could be ſold for: ſo that in fact we give premiums to the Colonies for ſelling goods to us, which would not have been ſold at all any where elſe. However, when the preſent bounties ſhall ceaſe, we may then conſider, at our leiſure,

leiſure, whether it would be right to give them again, or not; and we ſhall have it in our power to favour that country moſt which will ſhew the greateſt favour to us, and to our manufactures.

4thly, When we are no longer connected with the Colonies by the imaginary tie of an identity of government, than our merchant-exporters and manufacturers will have a better chance of having their debts paid, than they have at preſent: For as matters now ſtand, the Coloniſts chuſe to carry their ready caſh to other nations, while they are contracting debts with their Mother-Country, with whom they think they can take great liberties; and provided they are truſted, they care not to what amount this debt ſhall riſe:—For when the time for payment draws on, they are ſeized with a fit of patriotiſm; and then confederacies and aſſociations are to diſcharge all arrears; or at leaſt, are to poſtpone the payment of them SINE DIE.

5thly, After a ſeparation from the Colonies, our influence over them will be much greater than ever it was, ſince they began to feel their own weight and importance: For at preſent we are looked upon in no better a light than that of robbers and uſurpers; whereas, we ſhall then be conſidered as their protectors, mediators, and benefactors. The moment a ſeparation takes effect, inteſtine quarrels will begin: For it is well known, that the ſeeds of diſcord and diſſention between Province and Province are now ready to ſhoot forth; and that they are only kept down by the preſent combination

of

all the Colonies againſt us, whom they unhappily fancy to be their common enemy. When therefore this object of their hatred ſhall be removed by a declaration on our parts, that, ſo far from uſurping all authority, we, from henceforward will aſſume none at all againſt their own conſent; the weaker Provinces will intreat our protection againſt the ſtronger; and the leſs cautious againſt the more crafty and deſigning: So that in ſhort, in proportion as their republican ſpirit ſhall intrigue and cabal, they will ſplit into parties, divide and ſub-divide, in the ſame proportion ſhall we be called in to become their general Umpires and Referees. Not to mention, that many of the late and preſent Emigrants, when they ſhall ſee theſe ſtorms ariſing all around them, and when their promiſed earthly paradiſe turns out to be a dreary, unwholeſome, inhoſpitable, and howling wilderneſs, many of them, I ſay, will probably return to us again, and take refuge at laſt in Old England, with all its faults and imperfections.

Laſtly, Our WEST-INDIA Iſlands themſelves will receive ſignal benefit by this ſeparation. Indeed their ſize and ſituation render them incapable of ſubtracting all obedience from us; and yet the bad precedents of their neighbours on the Continent hath ſometimes prompted them to ſhew as refractory a ſpirit as they well could. —But when they come to perceive, what are the bitter effects of this untractable diſpoſition, exemplified in the caſe of the NORTH-AMERICANS, it is probable, it is reaſonable to conclude, that they will learn wiſdom by the miſ-

carriages

carriages and ſufferings of theſe unhappy people; and that from henceforward they will revere the authority of a Government, which has the feweſt faults, and grants the greateſt liberty, of any yet known upon earth.

But after all, there is one thing more, to which I muſt make ſome reply. Many, perhaps moſt of my readers, will be apt to aſk, what is all this about? And what doth this Author really mean? Can he ſeriouſly think, that becauſe he hath taken ſuch pains to prove a ſeparation to be a right meaſure, that therefore we ſhall ſeparate in good earneſt? and is he ſtill ſo much a novice as not to know, that meaſures are rarely adopted merely becauſe they are right, but becauſe they can ſerve a preſent turn? Therefore let it be aſked, what preſent convenience or advantage doth he propoſe either to adminiſtration, or to anti-adminiſtration, by the execution of his plan? This is coming to the point, and without it, all that he has ſaid will paſs for nothing.

I frankly acknowledge, I propoſe no preſent convenience or advantage to either; nay, I firmly believe, that no Miniſter, as things are now circumſtanced, will dare to do ſo much good to his Country; and as to the Herd of Anti-Miniſters, they, I am perſuaded, would not wiſh to ſee it done; becauſe it would deprive them of one of their moſt plentiful ſources for clamour and detraction: and yet I have obſerved, and have myſelf had ſome experience, that meaſures evidently right will prevail at laſt: Therefore I make not the leaſt doubt but that a ſeparation from

from the northern Colonies, and alſo another right meaſure, viz. a complete union and incorporation with Ireland (however unpopular either of them may now appear) will both take place within half a century: And perhaps that which happens to be firſt accompliſhed, will greatly accelerate the accompliſhment of the other. Indeed almoſt all people are apt to ſtartle at firſt at bold truths: But it is obſervable, that in proportion as they grow familiarized to them, and can ſee and conſider them from different points of view, their fears ſubſide, and they become reconciled by degrees: Nay, it is not an uncommon thing for them to adopt thoſe ſalutary meaſures afterwards with as much zeal and ardor as they had rejected them before with anger and indignation.

Need I add, that the man, who will have reſolution enough to advance any bold unwelcome truth (unwelcome I mean at its firſt appearance) ought to be ſuch an one, whoſe competency of fortune, joined to a natural independency of ſpirit, places him in that happy ſituation, as to be equally indifferent to the ſmiles, or frowns either of the great, or the vulgar;

Laſtly, ſome perſons perhaps may wonder, that, being myſelf a clergyman, I have ſaid nothing about the perſecution which the Church of England daily ſuffers in America, by being denied thoſe rights which every other ſect of Chriſtians ſo amply enjoys. I own I have hitherto omitted to make mention of that circumſtance, not thro' inadvertance, but by deſign; as being unwilling to embarraſs my general plan with what might

might be deemed by ſome readers to be foreign to the ſubject: and therefore I ſhall be very ſhort in what I have to add at preſent.

That each religious perſuaſion ought to have a full toleration from the ſtate to worſhip Almighty God, according to the dictates of their own conſciences, is to me ſo clear a caſe, that I ſhall not attempt to make it clearer; and nothing but the maintaining ſome monſtrous opinion inconſiſtent with the ſafety of ſociety,---- and that not barely in theory and ſpeculation, but by open practice and outward actions,----I ſay, nothing but the avowedly maintaining of ſuch dangerous principles can juſtify the magiſtrate in abridging any ſet of men of theſe their natural rights. It is alſo equally evident, that the church of England doth not, cannot fall under the cenſure of holding opinions inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate, and the good of mankind,——even her enemies themſelves being judges: and yet the church of England alone doth not enjoy a toleration in that full extent, which is granted to the members of every other denomination. What then can be the cauſe of putting ſo injurious a diſtinction between the church of England, and other churches in this reſpect? the reaſon is plain. The Americans have taken it into their heads to believe, that an epiſcopate would operate as ſome further tie upon them, not to break looſe from thoſe obligations which they owe to the Mother-Country; and that this is to be uſed as an engine, under the maſque of religion, to rivet thoſe chains, which they imagine we are forging

forging for them. Let therefore the Mother-Country herſelf reſign up all claim of authority over them, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil; let her declare North America to be independent of Great-Britain in every reſpect whatever;---let her do this, I ſay, and then all their fears will vaniſh away, and their panics be at an end: And then a biſhop, who has no more connections with England either in church or ſtate, than he has with Germany, Sweden, or any other country, will be no longer looked upon in America as a monſter, but a man. In ſhort, when all motives for oppoſition will be at an end, it is obſervable, that the oppoſition itſelf ſoon ceaſes and dies away. In a word an epiſcopate may then take place; and whether this new Eccleſiaſtical officer be called from a name derived from the Greek, the Latin, or the German,---that is, whether he be ſtiled epiſcopus, ſuperintendent, ſupervifor, overſeer, &c. &c. it matters not, provided he be inveſted with competent authority to ordain and confirm ſuch of the members of his own perſuaſion, as ſhall voluntarily offer themſelves, and to inſpect the lives and morals of his own clergy.

FINIS.

A few more WORDS, on the FREEDOM of the PRESS, Addreſſed by the PRINTER, to the FRIENDS of LIBERTY in AMERICA.

Since the PRESS is FREE, LONG may it REMAIN FREE.
BELL.

IT was the ſaying of an Ancient, and wiſe ENGLISHMAN, (TINDAL), who lived at the time of the Glorious Revolution in 1688, That, "While the Freedom of the "PRESS is preſerved, all other Liberties, "both Civil and Religious, will be ſecured to "us, under ſo faithful a Guardian." And it is the declaration of the modern, and noble VIRGINIANS; "that the Freedom of the "PRESS is one of the great bulwarks of "Liberty, and can never be reſtrained but by "deſpotic governments." Notwithſtanding theſe worthy and eſtimable authorities, if there are yet any number of miſtaken men exiſting, who under the ſpecious pretence of there being a neceſſity at ſome trying exigence for a temporary reſtriction of the FREEDOM of the PRESS, and their fooliſh advice ſhould at any one time be adopted, we may then bid a final adieu to every thing pertaining to Liberty: For it is more than probable, that like unto the wretched Britiſh Parliament, in the Year 1716, who pretended, there were at that time, too many Jacobites in the nation, to ſuffer the triennial election of Members for that Houſe.— They then tyrannically conſtituted themſelves into a ſeptennial parliament: And for the laſt ſixty years, have illegally and au-

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dauciouſly committed one continued inſult upon the conſtitution of the Kingdom, and upon the underſtandings of the whole body of the people in Great-Britain.—Now, if Americans will agreeable to the good old Engliſh advice—

" Learn to be wiſe, from others harm,
" Then, they ſhall do full well.

But, if according to the opinion of ſome violents againſt the freedom of enquiry, they will unwiſely trample upon that greateſt of all privileges, the Liberty of the PRESS; then will they, like the fooliſh people of Britain, commit ſuicide on their own liberties, and thus, entail upon themſelves, the ſcorn and contempt of all true and conſiſtent friends to real Liberty; becauſe, if new modes of Government, are either in reality, or in appearance, approaching towards the inhabitants of America; it is more peculiarly neceſſary on theſe extraordinary occaſions, that the Liberty of the PRESS ſhould be freely exerted: For, if in theſe changes, we do not fully retain all our preſent happy privileges, but weakly ſuffer any reſtrictions or curtailings of Liberty to advance upon us with new eſtabliſhments, it will afterwards be next to impoſſible, to regain the deſirable poſſeſſion.

Thus far, the Printer ſtill thinks it indiſpenſibly his duty to ſupport the Freedom of the PRESS, in which all the lovers of genuine Liberty are deeply intereſted. And, if there are any, who think otherwiſe, they may if they pleaſe, peruſe what follows. A

A SHORT ANSWER TO SOME CRITICISMS.

Which were Exhibited under the Signature of ARISTIDES: Containing, a reaſonable Vindication of the Propriety of thoſe Defences of the LIBERTY of the PRESS, Which were Annexed to PLAIN TRUTH, And to the Additions to PLAIN TRUTH; Publiſhed, in 1776. EXTRACTED from an Old Pamphlet, Publiſhed in the Year 1756, Entitled PLAIN TRUTH: Or, Serious Conſiderations on the Preſent State of the City of PHILADELPHIA, and Province of PENNSYLVANIA.

By a Tradeſman of PHILADELPHIA.

"IT is ſaid the wiſe Italians make this proverbial Remark on our Nation, viz. The Engliſh FEEL, but they do not SEE. That is, "they are ſenſible of inconveniencies when they "are preſent, but do not take ſufficient care to "prevent them: Their natural courage makes "them too little apprehenſive of danger, ſo "that they are often ſurprized by it, unprovided of the proper means of ſecurity. "When 'tis too late they are ſenſible of their "imprudence: After great fires, they provide

"buckets

" buckets and engines: After a peſtilence they
" think of keeping clean their ſtreets and com-
" mon ſhores: and when a town has been
" ſack'd by their enemies, they provide for its
" defence. This kind of AFTER-WISDOM is
" indeed ſo common with us, as to occaſion the
" vulgar, tho' very ſignificant ſaying, *When the*
" *Steed is ſtolen, it is time to ſhut the ſtable door.*"

(And the Printer of theſe uſeful and neceſſary DEFENCES, takes the liberty to inſert here,)

After the freedom of the Preſs hath been circumſcribed by the ignorance or malice of miſtaken zealots, it will then be time to cringe to ſome cowardly Printer, to beg he would ſupport its Liberty.

N. B. The *quibblings* of Ariſtides, concerning the *Words* firſt Edition, were ſufficiently confuted five days before they made their appearance, by the publication of the ſecond Edition of PLAIN TRUTH.

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